

Christianity and Crisis

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The South Catches Up

THIS is being written from North Carolina by an erstwhile native son who has returned for a fortnight's visit. After only casual contacts with the South for more than ten years, one acquainted intimately with the previous life of the region is struck by certain changes of import to the entire nation—and to the world, especially with respect to race relations. These changes are impressive quantitatively, but qualitative transformations are even more important.

About fifteen years ago a famous report designated the South as "the nation's No. 1 economic problem." While most of the Southern states are still at the bottom of the national lists of general economic indices, they remain an economic problem only in comparative terms and the gap between them and other states is being reduced rapidly. For many years per capita income in the region was about half the national average; in the last fifteen years the ratio has climbed to approximately two-thirds.

As New Englanders are well aware, industry is moving south at an extraordinary rate. This phenomenon of the 1920's has reappeared since the end of the Second World War, for somewhat different reasons. The "abundance of cheap labor"—and non-union labor—that enticed industries earlier is no longer the chief attraction, though there are certain wage differentials as compared to other sections of the country and labor is still widely unorganized. Technological advances in factory construction, lower land values and tax rates, proximity to raw materials and major markets at one and the same time, ample space and favorable public opinion—these and other factors have combined to tempt new industries to the South and in particular new units of nationally-known industrial enterprises. In the last four years more than four hundred new industrial plants, representing an investment of \$264,000,000 have been established in North Carolina alone, and the value of manufactured products increased in one recent year by 20 per cent. Industrial development in South Carolina has been equally extensive. Diversification of industry is proceeding apace, with textiles and tobacco processing still predominant. In the upper South at least, industry has far outstripped agricul-

ture as the basic economic pursuit, though a majority of the population is still rural in residence, and agricultural production, especially of cotton and tobacco, is still very high.

Concentrated hitherto in the Piedmont, a narrow strip along the Southern Railroad from Danville to Birmingham, industry is now spreading out to the coastal plains and (to lesser extent) mountain areas as well. The lingering ante-bellum atmosphere of the coastal plains had already been disturbed by giant military installations; it is now being rapidly dispelled by the invasion of multi-million dollar industries, and sleepy towns suddenly wake up to find themselves boom towns.

The South still has many economic problems to face and it may repeat serious mistakes made in other regions earlier. The role of trade unions remains to be determined in numerous industries; they have gained considerable strength and public opinion appears to be less hostile than ten years ago, but their future is by no means clear. New urban and suburban slums are in the making in some places, to match the rural slums so depressing to travellers on North-South highways.

Public opinion is so enchanted by the new developments that it does not foresee some of the ultimate problems: absentee ownership, the depersonalization of human relations, the loss of a sense of leisure even while the length of the work day declines, the decline of genuine community spirit, and other concomitants of industrialization.

Southern political trends were manifested vividly in the recent election. Four states — Virginia, Florida, Texas, Tennessee, plus the border states of Maryland and Oklahoma—went for Eisenhower and the contest between the two parties in most states was closer than at any time in this century. Nor was this outcome the ephemeral result of a revolt against an alien factor such as the Catholicism or anti-Prohibition stand of Al Smith. Doubtless the civil rights issue was of central import and Stevenson's clear position won him few white votes south of Mason and Dixon's line. But the basic import of the election is probably to be found in long-range political trends; as the South comes more nearly to resemble

other sections of the nation in economic, educational, and religious respects, its political complexion is likely to change accordingly and a two-party system is already a reality in most of the states.

With regard to its most distinctive problem, race relations, the South is now in a state of "uneasy progress." Perhaps most Southerners now recognize that the Negro is destined to reach virtual equality with whites in most spheres, but there are still very few who will follow the logic of this development and advocate the ultimate abolition of segregation. On the other hand, Governor Byrnes appears to have lost support even in South Carolina by his declared determination to abolish the public school system as such if the Supreme Court outlaws segregation in public education. There is wide confusion elsewhere as to the course to be pursued in case the Court takes this action.

In any event there has been conspicuous change in recent years. Last year the average salary paid to Negro school teachers in North Carolina was about \$70 above the average for white teachers, because the Negro teachers had accumulated higher certification on the whole. For the first time in its 70 years of record keeping, Tuskegee Institute reported no lynching during the year (1952); there have been

eight lynchings in the last five years, and the number of bombings has increased, but there can be no doubt that physical violence in race relations is generally disapproved and increasingly rare.

Racial tension appears to be related to economic tension among other factors. As grinding poverty declines, the urge to grind down some scapegoat is lessened. Before Christmas the streets and stores in Carolina cities were filled with white and Negro shoppers, mingling freely and spending money in the same fashion. No serious incidents were reported. Probably the dime stores are more important than the busses as racial laboratories today.

Significant changes are taking place in religion as in these other spheres, but discussion of them must be reserved for some subsequent issue of this journal.

It was fashionable fifteen years ago for social scientists and reformers to compare the South to a colony. That metaphor was illuminating at that time. At the very least the South has now become a dominion, if this writer's fragmentary observations are reliable. Developments can be compared in many ways to those taking place simultaneously in Canada. Regional sentiments and problems still exist, but the South is rapidly taking her full place in the nation.

L. P.

Confessions of a Political Neophyte*

ROBERT McAFEE BROWN

ANY Christian worth his salt knows that in this day and age there is an imperative laid upon him to be politically responsible. When one considers the fateful decisions which lie in the hands of the politicians, and the impact which these decisions will have for good or for ill upon the destinies of millions of people, it becomes apparent that in terms of trying to implement the will of God, however fragmentarily, politics can be a means of grace. Christians may not retreat behind the specious excuse "politics is too messy"; politics has become an area where the most fastidious Christian must act responsibly and decisively if he is not to be derelict in his Christian duty.

To such a thesis most Christians would subscribe. I have subscribed to it for quite a while and I have preached about it with fervor. My own political initiation, however, did not come until the fall of 1952, at which time I received a thorough sampling of what active political participation is like. The initia-

tion was gruelling but eminently worthwhile, and at least some of the naïveté I once had has been rubbed off.

And since everyone has, at some time or another, to make this initial plunge, to experience his first immersion in direct political activity, I propose to set down for the edification of future neophytes some of the experiences I had, some of the mistakes I made, some of the dangers I encountered, and some of the lessons I learned. The difficulty is that in this sort of context my activities will sound more important than they actually were. But this difficulty cannot be avoided without remaining silent, an option I have obviously decided to disregard.

I am a resident of the Fourth Congressional District of Minnesota, comprising the city of St. Paul and rural Ramsay County. The incumbent in the Congressional campaign, seeking re-election on the Democratic Farmer-Labor ticket, was Eugene McCarthy, who had served two terms in the House, and had compiled a splendid liberal voting record, with strong support to America's overseas responsibilities, social security measures, the fight against discrimination, and the fight for minority rights. He had won over his Republican opponent in 1950 by about

* Although the partisan implications of Professor Brown's article would ordinarily prevent publication in a paper which has no partisan position, we feel that the account of his experience is so illuminating, and has so many lessons beyond partisan politics, that readers, whatever their partisan position, will not take the publication of this paper amiss.

20,000 votes. From the start of the campaign I was enthusiastic about him, but did nothing more than the usual envelop-addressing and phone calling for the party on his behalf, although my wife and I did have him over to our house one evening to discuss campaign issues with a group of Protestant ministers. His opponent was a young Republican, 26 years old, just out of law school, with no previous experience of holding political office, whose name is irrelevant for the purpose of this article. McCarthy's chances were obviously good.

But the Republican opponent and his campaign workers began making statements about Eugene McCarthy and his voting record which were simply not true. The list of misrepresentations began to mount. I still have a list of eight or ten of these which have never been cleared up. Although McCarthy repeatedly asked for public retractions of these false charges, which had been made over the radio, over television, in campaign literature and in the newspapers, no such retractions (with one ambiguous exception) were forthcoming. This made me apprehensive, particularly when the line adopted turned more and more centrally to the communist scare issue, and an attempt was made through large, paid newspaper advertisements and public handbills to identify McCarthy with a "soft" attitude toward subversives, disloyal people, and so forth. (McCarthy originally went into politics to "purge" the local DFL party of an excessive left-wing element. He won.)

As these charges and repeated falsehoods began to mount in intensity, it seemed crystal clear that an important principle was at stake. Here was an attempt being made to discredit the activities of a liberal Congressman, not only by direct misstatements, but by planting suspicions and then carefully watering them and allowing them to grow. In blunt language, it was the "big lie" technique. I live too close to Wisconsin and the disreputable activities of the junior senator there to feel comfortable about a repetition of the same tactics at home. At home I was confronted by the ironic situation of a man named McCarthy (Eugene), having the tactics of McCarthy (Joe) used upon him. And it was on the basis of the seriousness of this issue, coupled with a realization of the positive worth of having a man like Eugene McCarthy in public office, that I finally offered my services to his campaign manager.

This was about a month before the end of the campaign. The succeeding four weeks, during which I gave all my spare time to the cause, were perhaps the busiest, and most illuminating weeks I have ever spent. And although I cannot claim to have had a major part in the campaign, I did at least have a part. While in the present instance I was certainly not at the center, I was at least closer to the center, able to learn a lot more and, more important, able to do a lot more.

Here are some of the kinds of things I did. I helped prepare news releases for the local papers and radio stations, trying to help us get better coverage of McCarthy's speeches and activities. I sent out 250-300 letters to the ministers, priests and rabbis in the district, to acquaint them with some of the moral issues at stake in the campaign as it was being waged. I wrote a pamphlet which ten of us signed, indicating the reasons we were supporting Eugene McCarthy, had it printed, and got help in distributing 25,000 copies of it. I spoke at a political rally and at a ward meeting. I gave two talks over the radio, one of which got me in hot water because of a garbled press report. I spent a part of almost every day at the Congressional office, and a part of almost every evening at home working on one or another of these projects. I also spent a lot of time fuming at the tactics of the opposition.

I cite these types of activity because they illustrate what can be done even by a neophyte in a local campaign.

There were experiences of another sort as well, about which anyone contemplating the plunge into politics should be forewarned. Needless to say, a number of people didn't like what I was doing, and even more, didn't like the side of the political fence on which I was doing it. Some of these people undertook to tell me so over the telephone, usually without divulging their names. (I soon made it a practice to ask who was calling and if the caller refused to identify himself, I felt no compulsion to continue the conversation.) I got an anonymous letter from a Protestant minister. I was attacked in the local paper by another Protestant minister, with the implication that I was a liar. After my picture had appeared in the paper with the candidate, I was taken to task by a trustee of the institution where I am employed. I am sure that such things roll off the back of the person experienced in political life and are not given a second thought. I must confess that even now, a month after Election Day as I write, I still approach the phone with a certain trepidation, wondering if it will be friend or foe. The prospective political neophyte must realize that the minute he identifies his name publicly with a party and more particularly with a candidate, he will be open to criticism, and if he goes around signing partisan political statements he will be open to abuse. This I realized in principle before I took the plunge, but it took some real adjustment to get used to it.

* * * *

The first of the lessons which I learned from my experience in the campaign just described, is this: to develop a special kind of sensitivity is as necessary as the development of a thick skin. For what the individual does will of necessity implicate others. No individual has any right to remain unaware of this fact. An individual connected with an institution such as a college (which is my situation) is always in

danger of creating the impression that he is speaking on behalf of the college, or that the college agrees with his views. This can be hard on the college. I was aware of the fact that my political activity might get my college into some hot water locally, particularly since I am a Democrat. However, to say that therefore I should not have acted, or that I should have been content to sit on the silent sidelines, seemed to me moral abdication. For I was not, and am not, willing to accept the notion that college teachers are second class citizens who should not participate publicly in civic life.

The principle, therefore, on which I tried to operate was to make my stand and give my speeches and do my writing as a *private citizen*, using my home address rather than my business address. This seems to me a defensible principle. It was clear that I was not trying to throw the weight of the college behind my position, or take cover behind the college. And yet I was able to speak my mind. Naturally, this is not a foolproof solution, since some people inevitably know what a private citizen does to earn a living. One cannot divorce himself from his vocation. I do not know how much nastiness the president of the college has had to bear because of my activity. It is even possible that it may have cost the college some prospective donations. These are matters about which I must certainly have a concern. And yet they are surely not matters which justify me or anyone else in keeping his mouth shut, if an issue is at stake on which there is conscientious compulsion to speak. A principle of some sort is clearly necessary when one realizes that his actions and statements may implicate other people besides himself.

I also learned that a given political choice must be made in terms of a complex of issues. I came to see the fallacy of a political choice made on the basis of one issue alone, to the exclusion of other issues. The candidate I supported is a Roman Catholic. I am a Presbyterian minister, teaching in a Presbyterian college. The Republican candidate, although not a member of any church, attends a Presbyterian church. To many of my ministerial brethren, this was the end of the matter. Of course the Protestant should be supported against the Catholic! To some of these men, other issues were irrelevant and attempts to suggest that they were proved futile. Needless to say, I do not accept the Roman Catholic position about a number of matters such as the relationship of church and state, the Vatican appointment, etc.—though I am bound to add that I do not think we Protestants have solved the problem by our secularizing formula of “absolute separation of church and state.” But I felt that there were more fundamental issues involved than the issues which might on occasion tend to separate a Protestant and a Roman Catholic. The quality of a man’s voting record, for example, is the significant criterion. The fact that Eugene McCarthy

had voted for MSA, social security, food for India, civil rights, and so forth, were the really important things at stake. Moreover, by no stretch of my Protestant conscience could I countenance the “big lie” tactics which I saw so clearly at work in the opposition’s efforts to discredit a fine voting record. These, and many other factors, I discovered, needed to be weighed in deciding one’s vote. To isolate *one* factor, such as the one I have mentioned, appeared as political naïveté. To talk about “corruption in Washington,” to take another example, without also recognizing corruption in local campaign tactics, presented itself to me as an evasion of moral responsibility.

I also feel that I learned something about the ambiguity of political loyalties. I do not use the word “ambiguity” in a derogatory sense; perhaps “conditional character” is a better phrase. I am referring to something good. I came to see that political alliances can arise over a specific issue and that after that issue has been dealt with it is perfectly possible that new alliances may be necessary. This was one of the most illuminating things about the campaign in which I participated. My closest friend, and the one to whom I went most often for advice, is a Jew. I am a Protestant. We were working in constant touch with a group of Roman Catholic laymen. The Jew and I might disagree about the State of Israel; we do disagree about Christology. The Catholic laymen and I might disagree about aid to schools; we do disagree about the dogma of the Assumption. And yet on this issue, the importance of our candidate’s re-election, we were in full accord, and could work in utmost harmony. This was a good example to me of living democracy, and not simply text-book democracy. On other issues we might have been divided, but on this issue we were united.

There was a quality of healing about the associations I had with these men of other faiths. I think it was good for all of us to find issues on which we could unite, since there are so many other issues which seem to drive us apart. The “I-Thou” confrontation is sound theology not only in the divine-human relationship, but also in the human-to-human relationship as well. And while I shall certainly remain as firm in my Protestant convictions as heretofore, I hope to temper that firmness with more charity than I have always exhibited in the past.

I have come to see more clearly than before the need for speaking concretely and frankly on political issues. Not only do generalities lack any cutting edge, but they offer unbelievable opportunities for polemical retort. This is not to say that speaking the truth bluntly will not have its disadvantages, and of these the prospective neophyte must also be apprised. It was clear to me that the opponent and his workers had said things about Eugene McCarthy and his record which were not true, and that they were refusing to set the record straight. I said so.

I went further. I expressed moral concern that such people should aspire to public office, and even graver concern over the possibility that such people might be elected to public office. For this I was called on the mat by various colleagues who didn't think that such harsh things should be said publicly by a minister of Jesus Christ.

Was it wrong to say in print and on the radio that another man was not telling the truth? My only defense was that if the man was in fact telling a lie it was of utmost importance to say so, in print or anywhere else. We must be ready to say harsh things if necessary, when important issues are at stake. If there is any semblance of a "big lie" technique being used, it is important to say so before a candidate is elected, and recommend his defeat, rather than having him thrust upon a whole nation after he is elected.

Certainly this is a difficult and complex problem for the Christian in politics. We must not rant and rave and throw charges about irresponsibly. And yet we cannot speak only for the purpose of mouthing platitudes. There will be times when, like Jeremiah, we cannot "prophesy unto them smooth things," but must rather speak harsh things. And paradoxical as it may seem, it can be an act of Christian charity to the body politic for us to do so.

I have also realized afresh the importance of the political party. In our local campaign we had relatively little money—which is an extremely desirable commodity in any campaign. Consequently, when the first large paid advertisement of the opponent appeared, making a reckless charge that McCarthy had been soft towards people of "doubtful loyalty," there was not enough in our campaign fund to buy newspaper space for a reply. So the party sponsored the ad. When the soft toward-subversives gambit was being exploited by the opposition, Senator Hubert Humphrey, another liberal member of Congress, went on the radio on behalf of our candidate and gave, as he usually does, a devastatingly sharp answer. When Harry Truman spoke in St. Paul, he devoted a considerable amount of his speech to the dangers involved in the technique being used against Eugene McCarthy and to a vindication of McCarthy and his record—a tremendous shot in the arm to all of us embroiled in the local problem. This even brought the matter to the attention of national columnists and reporters, one of whom made extended mention of it in a Sunday night broadcast heard from coast to coast. It was a stirring experience to realize that others too were concerned, and that in a crisis others were willing to help.

* * * *

Let me now turn to look at some of the dangers and problems which I faced.

I saw clearly the menacing danger of believing that all the good lies on one side of the political fence,

and all of the evil on the other, of letting the issues become too distinct, and the choices too absolute. I know very well that my candidate was not perfect, and that the opponent was not the incarnation of evil—but there were many times in the heat of a particular campaign issue when I was tempted to think those judgments correct. Here is one area where Christian theology makes an indispensable contribution to political acumen: it can remind us constantly that all men are sinners, even those on our own side, and it can remind us that all men are created in the image of God, even those on the opposing side. And yet, no matter how theologically perceptive we may be, this is hard to remember. Let the political neophyte be reminded that everything stands under the judgment of God and that no final and unconditioned loyalties can be given to any candidate or political party or party platform.

The reason for the danger of making more and more unqualified political judgments lies, I believe, in the fact that one is in constant association with like-minded people, and very seldom in close association with the opposition. Day in and day out one talks to those who share the same viewpoint, and it becomes increasingly easy to decide that this viewpoint is the only *real* viewpoint, and that anyone who disagrees must be either naive or dishonest. So neophyte be warned: beware of absolutizing your party or its judgments, your candidate or his judgments.

Another problem is that of crossing the almost insuperable barrier which is erected by those voters who insist on thinking in terms of personalities rather than issues. During our campaign, two groups of lawyers issued statements giving conflicting interpretations of an amendment which had been presented on the floor of Congress, and was related to our local campaign. A woman called me up in great agitation because I seemed to approve of the second statement rather than the first. I asked her if she had read the second statement. I never got a clear answer to my question because the whole burden of the succeeding discussion was that she didn't approve of the lawyers who had signed the statement. (Most of them were Democrats.) A question about the content of the statement, and whether or not the statement happened to be true, appeared to be an irrelevancy. The same point is illustrated by the number of people who couldn't understand my opposition to the Republican candidate. After all, he was so "sincere." I did not doubt that fact for a moment; there have been "nice young men" ever since the beginning of political time, but they have not by that token invariably had the beliefs and insights necessary for holding public office responsibly.

This same sort of problem, with a reverse English twist, emerged in the *ad hominem* argument when it was used to evade a charge. When the supporters of McCarthy began to insist that the opponent clear the record of the misstatements and distortions he

and his workers had made about McCarthy, we found ourselves confronted by an impossible task. The most that was forthcoming was the astonished statement that McCarthy's friends were calling the Republican candidate a liar.

That this technique was effective is hardly to be doubted, since it by-passed the necessity of dealing with the truth or falsity of the charges we were making, but I hope we may be pardoned if we took such tactics as a vindication of the fact that our charges were not off base.

Another problem in campaigning today is the difficulty of dealing with the widespread attitude of anti-intellectualism. Eugene McCarthy, for example, had the great misfortune to have achieved an exceedingly high scholastic average in college, and worse than that, much worse than that, he had been a college professor. This led the opposition to produce the phrase "academic liberal" as a term of reproach, and the phrase "fuzzy thinker" as a term of simple description. It was implied again and again that persons who engaged in this business of thinking were irrelevant when they were not dangerous, which they probably were. The campaign literature made it plain that a college professor was suspect practically by definition. People in ivory towers only read about communism and don't know how menacing it is. As a consequence they get taken in, and are "soft." (It is curious that in other parts of the country this line of reasoning is, with blithe inconsistency, combined with the belief that our colleges are riddled with communists.) I hope it is not simply because I am a college professor that I find this sort of line dismaying. If it is really such a sin to think, and to teach, and the popular thing now is to say so, I am afraid that we are laying the groundwork very nicely for a kind of emotionalism and irrationalism in campaigning which could have very disastrous results.

A concomitant danger comes from the liability involved in campaigning for a liberal Democrat. There are an astonishingly large number of people for whom this evidence alone is damning. These are the people who reason:

Democrat equals liberal
liberal equals socialist
socialist equals pink
pink equals red
red equals communist
Therefore, Democrat equals communist

It is disheartening to have to spend time defending oneself or one's candidate against this nonsensical line of reasoning. And yet this is such a popular theme today that almost anyone can make political hay out of it, and most do. The mere suspicion planted in a voter's mind that even part of this syllogism is true is enough to convince him that he'd better not vote for the candidate in question, since

there "might" be something a little bit questionable about him; you never know. . . . To anyone looking at McCarthy's voting record, it was clear that he embodied a positive stand against communism in terms of support of all the basic legislative proposals designed to deal with the problem. Yet it was suggested again and again, throughout the latter part of the campaign, that he should not be trusted; would *you* put a "premium on disloyalty?"

Now here is the frustrating thing about such a situation: to refute a false charge is simply to draw more attention to the charge. But to ignore it is interpreted as an admission of guilt. Therefore the charge has to be refuted, and the attention thus called to it increases its political value to the opposition, because on a communist issue, you just never know. . . . Thus you are "damned if you do, and damned if you don't."

Another problem which is usually magnified if one is a Democrat, is that of the one-sided press, a difficulty which exists in many parts of the country. Our local press, I need hardly say, was Republican. An interesting analysis could be made sometime of the relative column inches, headline biases, and space allocations given to the two candidates the course of our local campaign. (For example, the aforementioned lawyers' statement favoring the Republican candidate made page one; that favoring the Democrats was on page ten.) I have never before realized what an impenetrable wall a one-sided press can represent, and how maddening and frustrating and discouraging it can be to belong to the side which is not favored, even to the extent that paid advertisements have to be revised before they will be accepted. As various analyses since the election have shown, this was not a problem peculiar to us, and *The Reporter* and *The New Yorker* have done the country a distinct service by analysing how one-sided the press can become. How to meet this problem? We tried paid advertisements (with the result noted above), mimeographed broadsheets (cheap to produce, hard to distribute and aesthetically unappealing), radio talks (expensive), and printed pamphlets for distribution (very expensive). These represent no answer to the basic problem of the one-sided press, and are mere stop-gap efforts to combat it. Let those concerned about democracy and freedom of expression put this issue of the press down as a number one priority for concern.

A final problem is of a more personal nature. I suggest that it will plague other neophytes as it plagued me. This is the problem of the degree of personal involvement in the polemics of a campaign. There was the constant apprehension over what stunt the opposition might pull next. There was always the urge to think of some new appeal, some new approach, which might win voters. I report it as a confession of weakness that I felt so emotionally in-

involved with his position and his welfare, that I found it exceedingly difficult to remember that attacks on the Democratic candidate were not attacks on me. It was a tense experience to pick up the morning paper and prepare for the ordeal of discovering what the opposition had said or done in the last twelve hours. It is physically and emotionally exhausting to live under the constant tension of a campaign for even a few days at a time, let alone weeks or months. I am inclined, on the whole, to look at this element of my activity as a sign of spiritual immaturity; there is a closer correlation between political and devotional life than appears on the surface.

I wish to conclude, however, on a brighter note. The most encouraging thing about the campaign was the splendid way in which it ended. I had honestly been afraid that the "big lie" technique would plant enough doubts in voters' minds so that McCarthy would be defeated. I feared this as a signal set-back to American democracy, and felt that it would represent a real threat to the things which I, as an American citizen, am concerned about. Fortunately, I was too pessimistic. McCarthy almost doubled his 1950 majority, winning by about 39,000 votes. It was not the mere victory which was so important. It was the size of the victory. For it showed that in one area of the country at least, people had gone to the polls to register their repudiation of campaign

techniques which are a threat to democracy, as well as to give their backing to a liberal statesman.

An even more hopeful note to me was the fact that the election was won without resorting to the tactics of the opposition. One of the most significant experiences I had, which I shall never forget, was sitting in a house very late at night with a dozen or so men who had \$1100 cash on the table and wanted to use it for a "smear sheet" attacking the Republican opponent. I saw some of the copy. It would have been devastating. The pressures to do it were tremendous, and it would have been very easy to say "Go ahead." And it was a high moment in my understanding of democracy to see a man whose political life was being threatened, stand up to that concerted opposition and say "No." It might have cost him the election. At that point no one knew. But as Eugene McCarthy said later, "It is not worth winning, to have to win in that fashion."

My admiration did not have to be limited to the candidate. I was and am proud of the voters as well. For they and he demonstrated together that a man of integrity could wage a clean fight and win. This is an important thing to know these days. Perhaps the victory of Eugene McCarthy makes me falsely optimistic. I trust not, for it is a very refreshing thing to have a glint of hope in this year of our Lord 1952.

NEWS AND NOTES

Theological Faculties Make Statement On Race Issue

The members of the faculties of Yale Divinity School and of Union Theological Seminary have independently sent letters to the Dean of the Theological Faculty of the University of the South in regard to the position taken by the faculty on the admission of Negroes to the seminary. It will be remembered that the Divinity Faculty of the University of the South resigned as a protest against the racial policies of the University.

October 16, 1952

To

The Very Reverend F. Craighill Brown, Dean, and the Theological Faculty of the University of the South:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of Yale University Divinity School, send you our greetings and good wishes. We have taken note with great interest and joy of the manner in which you are defending the unity of the Body of Christ and the equality of all its members, particularly with reference to the right of candidates for the ministry to receive theological education without discrimination because of race. Believing as we do that willingness to practice complete brotherliness in the Christian church is one of the most significant tests in our time of our devotion to Christ's cause and of our right to preach His gospel to the world, we are heartened by the stand you have taken and pledge to you our continued goodwill, respect and co-operation.

Liston Pope, John Oliver Nelson, Randolph C. Miller, E. W. Muehl, Raymond P. Morris, Millar Burrows, Robert S. Michaelsen, Julian N. Hartt, Claude Welch, David A. MacLennan, Marvin H. Pope, B. Davie Napier, H. Richard Niebuhr, Franklin W. Young, George A. Lindbeck, Paul Schubert, Seymour A. Smith, William Lee Miller, Paul H. Vieth, Kenneth Underwood, Halford E. Luccock, James I. Borden, Erich Dinkler, Roland H. Bainton, Kenneth S. Latourette, Norvin Hein, Hugh Hartshorne.

October 22, 1952.

To

The Very Reverend F. Craighill Brown, Dean, and the Theological Faculty of the University of the South:

We, the undersigned members of the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, desire to express our feelings of solidarity with you and your faculty in your stand for what seems to us to be a clear Christian principle: that in the Church of Christ there should be no discrimination against any of its members on account of race. We greatly admire the clarity and forthrightness of the position that you have taken and we realize that you have taken it at real cost to yourselves. We believe that in the sphere of theological education the denial of equal opportunity to students of all races and the refusal to permit interracial fellowship are contradictions of the nature of the Church. As your colleagues in theological education we send you our gratitude and assure you of our desire to stand with you.

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YOUTH CONFERENCE, INDIA, Dec. 26—Sponsors of the Communist-inspired "peace-plans" were taken to task by leaders of the World Conference of Christian Youth meeting in Travancore, December 11th to 25th. The Conference Committee replied to an open letter from the Communist youth leaders of the "Democratic Christian Youth of Travancore." Excerpts follow:

Dear Friends,

"We thank you for your letter and are grateful for the friendly interest you show in the success of this conference and for helping us to confront some of the vital issues which face the world and ourselves as young

Christians. We are glad you share our hopes about the Conference.

I. We share with you the most urgent concern for peace. The programme of the Conference includes five commissions. The theme of one of these is "Jesus Christ and the search for personal freedom and social justice," and of another "Christ in a world of tensions." Both of these commissions cover a large field and take into consideration the factors you mention together with others.

With regard to peace, there is not a single person here who does not abhor the tendencies towards war which appear in our world. . . . At this Conference we must understand more deeply what are the causes of conflicts, what is at stake in them and what action we can take.

In this connection we have to ask a question about the sponsors of the World Peace Movement whose Peking Resolutions you quote. The Indian peace plan, sponsored by a country taking an independent stand in international affairs and accepted at U.N.O. by representatives of fifty-four nations, we believe would have led to "immediate peace in Korea on a just and reasonable basis" (Peking Resolutions, your letter page 2). Why then did the sponsors of the Peace Movement not openly press the governments of China, the U.S.S.R. and the few countries voting against the plan to accept it? Does not the doubt arise whether the Peace Movement desires above all a peace taking account of the interests of all parties concerned? . . .

II. You have rightly raised the question of movements for national and social liberation and for the preservation of such freedoms where they have been gained. As young people, this note strikes a very sympathetic chord in us. . . . It is the duty of all of us, from whatever country we come, to understand and assist the fulfillment of the legitimate human hopes in this revolutionary urge.

But here we must face a further question. Is not the possibility of the betrayal of these hopes more complex than your letter suggests? They must be betrayed by colonialism and economic pressure from outside. May they not also be betrayed from within by people who do not recognize the dignity of the human person? or by people who act as if states and societies were ends in themselves and as if there were no higher law over them, in which human dignity and social justice are grounded. Such action has already led to new oppressions of the human person in totalitarian collectivism. . . .

III. In all these matters we have to consider the role of the Church. The Church of course, while never making itself into a political party, must speak and act without fear and in terms of God's judgment, mercy and love. This means that the Church is always responsible for bringing all parties in political life to face the authority of God. . . .

We thank you for your greetings and hope that what we have said here may be useful in your own further thought about these issues."

THE CONFERENCE COMMITTEE.

Author In This Issue

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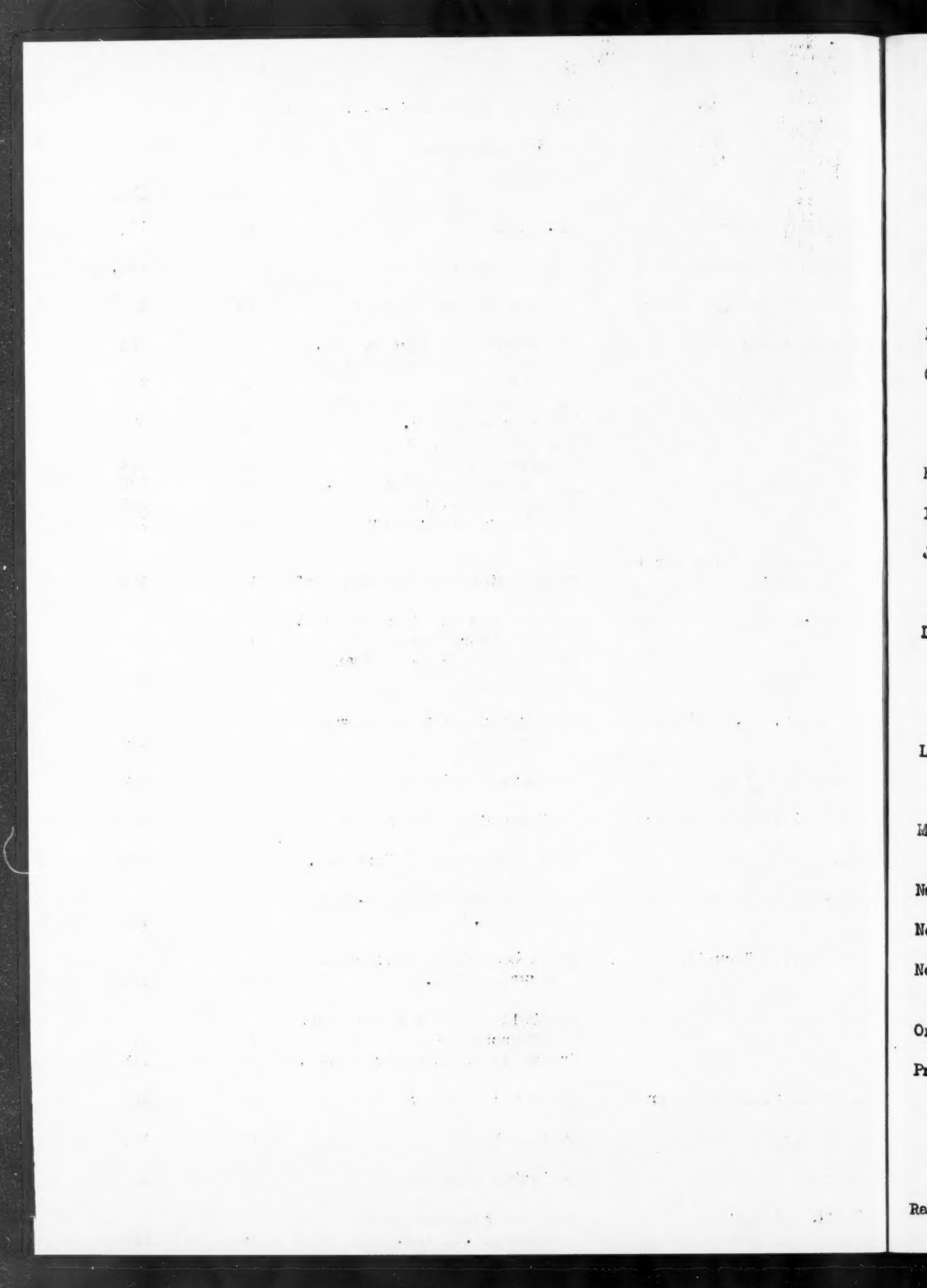
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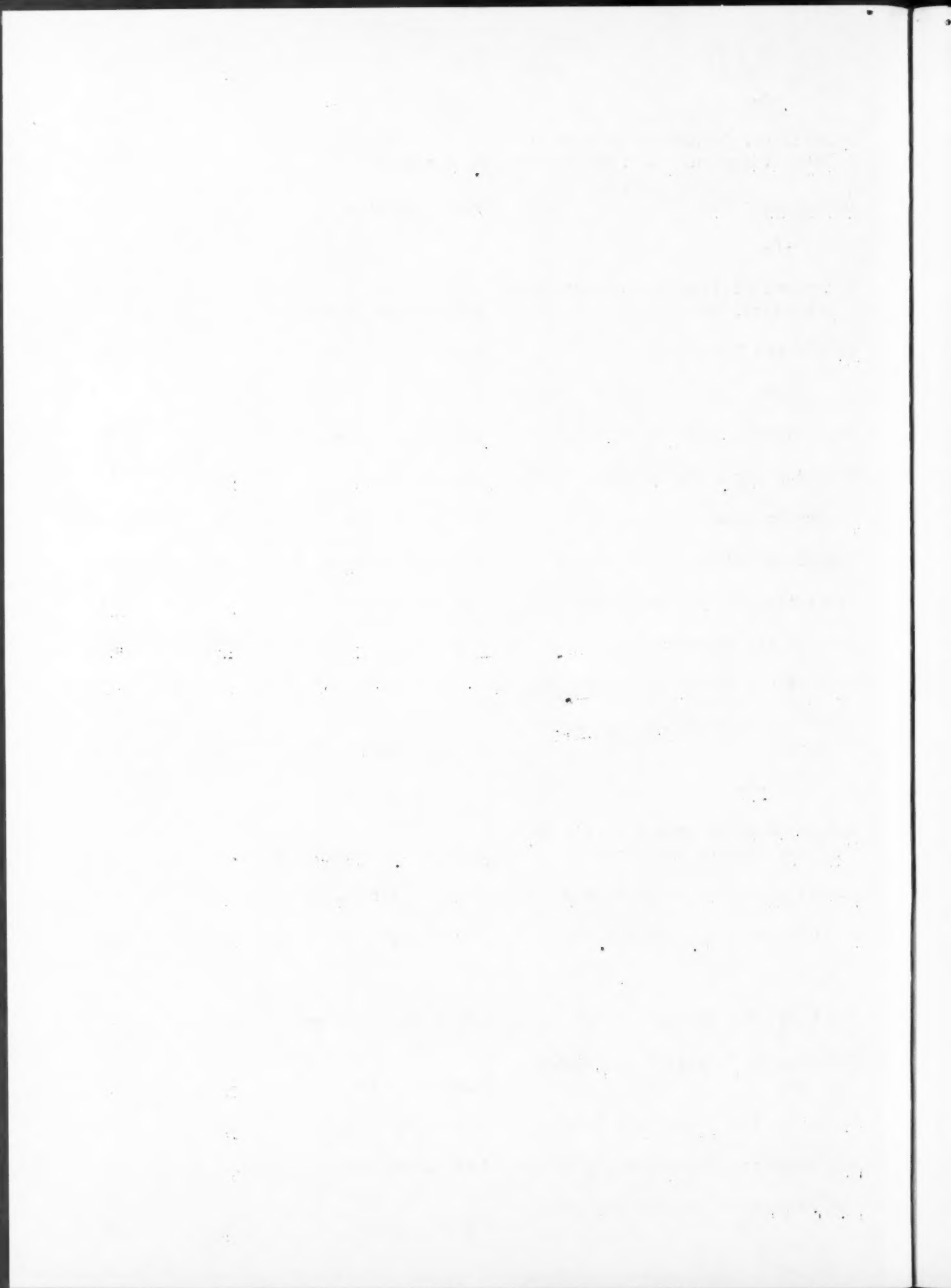
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